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PUBLIC DISCUSSION AND DEBATE

FACULTY COMMITTEE ON EXTENSION

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Public Discussion and Debate

INTRODUCTION

Public discussion in the form of debating at the University of North Carolina, as a means of training young men for citizenship, dates back to the year of the University's opening, 1795. From that early beginning to the present, through the Dialectic and Philanthropic Literary Societies then founded, the University, with full knowledge of the tremendous good growing out of such discussion, has jealously fostered this form of intellectual activity, with the result that Vance, Aycock, McIver, Alderman, Joyner, and hundreds of other North Carolinians trained in the halls of these Societies, have gone out into the State to think rightly concerning its many problems and to mould and touch its life at its very heart.

Fully alive to the vital importance of arousing intelligent interest in the questions affecting modern life, the University has in more recent years, through its graduates, its instructors, and its library, attempted to extend public discussion throughout the State at large, especially in the secondary schools. Graduates have organized literary societies in the schools in which they have taught, professors in the University have answered communications received from the societies organized, and the library has loaned reference material from its shelves to aid in the preparation of debates. A still more significant step in this direction was taken in 1912-1913 when, under the leadership of the Societies, the High School Debating Union was established, and more than one hundred schools were brought together to participate in a State-wide debating contest. Since then, the lines of organization have been further extended so that the Union's membership has been trebled and the value of debating to pupils and communities alike has been sharply called to the minds of the people of North Carolina.

PURPOSE

Wendell Phillips once said "Agitation is education. Agitation is marshaling the conscience of a nation to mould its laws." The stimulation of agitation in this sense, stimulation of public discussion, either through school debating societies or civic clubs, whereby the youth and adults of North Carolina may be brought to see North Carolina problems in their true light, is the purpose of this manual. In the case of the schools it is intended that the handbook shall be used in promoting discussions that shall be more or less formal. In the case of civic clubs of any nature whatsoever, it is intended that it shall be used to suggest informal discussion of problems which affect the every day life of the community in which the club exists. Discussion

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of this sort will prove fully as effective as formal debate in arousing interest and serving the ends of ultimate truth. It should be remembered that it is not the primary object of debate to train pupils in parliamentary procedure and oratorical speech-making, valuable as these may be, but rather to cultivate in both the youth and the adult the development of real civic opinion by means of a sincere search for truth.

SCHOOLS AND CIVIC CLUBS

While the handbook is primarily intended as a guide for use by the schools of the State and for those especially which have membership in the High School Debating Union, it is also intended for every society or organization in the State which may wish to discuss public questions intelligently and thereby promote the public good. Its arrangement, content, and suggested methods of work, with slight modifications, are suited to the needs of Farmers' Union Locals, Women's Clubs, and other similar organizations, and the University hopes that it may be used in this wider sphere.

CONTENTS

The handbook is divided into seven sections. The first discusses the importance of debate; the second suggests methods of preparation for public discussion; the third contains a number of queries with briefs, outlines, and references; the fourth gives a further list of queries for which no briefs, outlines, references, etc., are furnished, but for which limited reference material may be borrowed from the University Library or complete package libraries from the North Carolina Library Commission; the fifth division contains a list of debate handbooks and aids more extended than this one and gives sources from which additional information may be secured; the sixth outlines programs for Friday afternoon and holiday exercises; the seventh presents a model constitution, by-laws, and rules of order. These models, to be used in organizing new societies or conducting previously organized societies, are based in the main on the constitution, etc., of the Dialectic and Philanthropic Societies of the University.

While this handbook is necessarily limited in scope, it is hoped that it may meet many of the actual needs of the State. In its preparation the editor has been assisted by Prof. N. W. Walker, State Inspector of High Schools for North Carolina; Prof. G. M. McKie, Associate Professor of Public Speaking in the University, who prepared the article on "Preparation and Argumentation"; Dr. J. H. Johnston, who arranged the programs for Friday afternoon and holiday exercises; and Mr. E. R. Rankin, Secretary of the High School Debating Union of North Carolina, author of the model "Constitution and By-Laws."

LOUIS R. WILSON.

The Importance of Discussion and Debate

HIGH SCHOOL LITERARY SOCIETIES

Every high school in North Carolina should have a literary society. Such a society trains its members in effective public speaking; makes them at ease before an audience; familiarizes them with correct parliamentary procedure; teaches them to think rightly; gives those who are pupils an opportunity to apply the history, English, and other subjects which they study daily; causes them to read outside of their assigned school work; leads to independent, interesting investigation; arouses school spirit; and adds tremendously to the social life of the community. If the society centers it work on the problems of the community of which it is a part, it sets the whole population to thinking, and out of that springs a higher and happier daily life.

ESSENTIALS IN ORGANIZATION AND PROCEDURE

No fixed rules can be laid down for the conduct of every society, but certain fundamental principles must be observed.

1. The society should have the constant, sympathetic interest and supervision of the teachers. Its direction should not be left to a teacher who reluctantly assumes the work as an added burden. A principal can well afford to give his best teacher one period less a day in order to make a success, not a farce, of a voluntary society of twenty boys. The wise direction of a society is a far more difficult task than class-room teaching. It is also richer in opportunities. Take such a matter as the choice of questions and the wording of propositions. It is of the utmost importance that the proposition be worded carefully. Nothing kills initial interest in discussion so easily as the choice of trivial, worthless, or inappropriate subjects. This is but one essential of good debating for which the society adviser must assume responsibility.

2. Separate societies should be formed for the boys and girls unless the number of pupils is too small to justify them. Joint meetings of the boys' and girls' societies might be held two or three times a year, but not oftener.

3. Meetings for the boys should be held preferably at night. Local conditions may make this inadvisable. Occasional opportunities should be given for the repetition of the best debates, declamations, literary exercises, and reports before the whole school. Inter-society and inter-scholastic debates will necessarily be held less frequently, and the participants will be chosen with great care and thoroughly trained.

The public should always be invited in the case of these special meetings.

4. The society should have a comparatively short season, divided into two periods of eight to twelve meetings each, the first beginning after the fall term has been well started and the second ending sufficiently early so as not to interfere with the closing examinations and commencement exercises. This will insure interest and snap. An inter-society commencement debate can be held if desirable after the regular work of the society has closed.

5. Programs should be planned carefully by the teacher adviser and the society committee, and the programs should be posted for meetings several weeks in advance. An effort should be made to have each member take part in a definite number of meetings a year. For example, each member should participate in two debates, two informal discussions, write an essay, and give a declamation in each half year. Whatever the program, it should be well thought out and carried through in strict parliamentary order.

6. The query debated should be carefully selected. Let it relate, in so far as it can, to the life of the community and the State. One of the chief objects of the local society is to train the members to study and investigate vital questions with a view to local improvement. Discuss bond issues for good roads, whole-time public health officers, the salary versus fee system of paying county officers, etc., instead of such questions as the retention of the Philippine Islands.

7. Investigations for material should be made first from facts and things common to the every day life of the members. Let each debater observe and study local forces, conditions, and tendencies. Then let him turn to the school or public library or to the material sent out by the University Library, the North Carolina Library Commission, or other loaning agencies, in order to extend his observation and check up his conclusions in the light of wider information. If need be, members of the society can well afford to subscribe for several magazines which treat the subjects under discussion and can have their friends in the community make clippings on the subjects from the daily newspapers.

8. In presenting arguments for and against a proposition, let the members of the opposing sides divide the question in such a way that the second and third speakers follow in regular logical sequence after the first speaker. Let each member make a definite contribution to the argument. Let team work be consistent and cumulative.

9. The final essential is downright, persistent, hard work. Every member should put forth his best effort. Development comes in no other way and every member should strive after the fullest development possible.

CIVIC CLUBS

Public discussion in North Carolina during the past decade has undergone a most desirable change. Emphasis hitherto placed largely on things political and national, is being placed on questions affecting the every day life of North Carolina. To make this change even more far-reaching, every North Carolina community should resolve itself into a community club and devote itself seriously to the quiet, persistent student of its economic, social, educational, and religious problems.

The plan of organization and the method of procedure in such clubs should be simpler than that of the school societies. Their object should be open, frank, earnest discussion. The building up of a strong constructive community spirit and community interest should be a second object. Out of such discussions characterized by such a spirit, will inevitably come the solution of problems upon which the welfare of the community absolutely depends.

If a place of meeting is the only obstacle in the way of the formation of such a club, the local school house can well be used for this purpose. It ought to be widely used and made the real social center of the community.

For guidance in the formation of such clubs, this handbook, with slight modifications, may be used. For material for use in such discussions, the Bureau of Extension of the University, the North Carolina Library Commission, and State offices can be called upon. The State press, especially *The Progressive Farmer* and *The State Journal*, will also be found of inestimable value in furnishing weekly discussions of the topics which it will be desirable to make the subject of these meetings.

Preparation and Argumentation

THE PROPOSITION

The beginning of argument, since its purpose is to prove something, must be a proposition,—this is, a clear definite statement of what is to be proved.

This proposition has three essential qualities.

First, it must be clear. No ambiguous words must be allowed to confuse the hearer as to the real meaning of the speaker. No argument can be satisfactory to the fairminded hearer that depends for its success on the interpretation of ambiguous words. The speaker who bases his argument on the generally accepted meaning of the terms of his proposition goes far toward winning the confidence of his audience. In a recent debate on the proposition, The Federal Government Should Retain all Forest and Mineral Lands Now in Its Possession, the Negative won mainly because the Affirmative defined the word "retain" as "control," the Negative argument being based on the generally accepted definition, "hold in possession."

Second, the proposition should be limited to one central idea. It is extremely difficult to prove two different propositions in the course of a single argument. The confusion liable to result from a double proposition may be realized by taking for illustration some such proposition as, The State Should Impose an Income Tax, and the County Assessors Should Make the Returns for their Respective Counties. It is quite conceivable that the Affirmative might show that the State should impose an income tax, but that the Negative might show with equal clearness that the State, instead of relying on county officers, should appoint its own officers to handle the tax.

Third, the proposition should be so phrased as to give the Affirmative the burden of proof. This statement means simply that the Negative shall not be required either to defend that which has not been attacked, or to attack that which has not been proposed. On the question, for example, "Congress should not impose an income tax," the negative phrasing forces those advocating an income tax to take the Negative side of the debate,—a situation that cannot but be confusing to an audience, and indeed to the debaters themselves. In debate the first speaker should have something to do, either to attack something that already exists or to propose something new. The proposition, then, should propose to establish something or to abolish something. It should not be negatively phrased.

ANALYSIS

Having a clear, single, affirmative proposition, the debater should next proceed to find out just what it comprehends,—just what is in it. The meaning of a proposition depends, not on the dictionary definitions of its terms, but on what the proposition as a whole means; and this meaning may best be found by answering the following questions: Why are we interested in this question today? What has been the history of this question from its beginning up to the special point of interest in it today? What is contended by each side? and, as a result of contrasting the contentions, What are the Special Issues, the detailed questions on which the settlement of the main question depends?

This process of analysis may be divided into six steps: Origin of the Question, History of the Question, Definition of Terms, Clash of Opinion, Elimination of Admitted, Waived, or Extraneous Matter, and Statement of the Issues. These six steps form the Introduction of a typical brief:

I. The answer to the question why the subject is of interest today throws light on the proposition because the particular phase of the subject that is in the public mind may be a very different one from the phase that was presented a few years, or even months, before. Mr. R. M. Alden cites an interesting example of a sudden change in the meaning of a proposition.* In 1895 two college societies had arranged to hold a debate on the question, Resolved, That the Foreign Policy of President Cleveland Should be Approved.† President Cleveland's foreign policy had been marked by conservatism; but shortly before the debate was to take place, the President issued his Venezuelan message. This message seemed to the debaters too radical to harmonize with the general line of their argument, and they gave up the debate. It will be noted that the immediate origin of the question is the latest step in the history of the question, and in the case cited by Mr. Alden, an entirely new question was projected by the addition of a new step in the history of Mr. Cleveland's foreign policy.

II. The next step after finding out why the question is of interest at the present time, is to answer the inquiry, How did this question come to be what it is,—or in other words, What is its History? The discussion of the Immediate Origin has shown that a question may be materially changed within a very short time. The History of the Question helps to throw light on the proposition by showing its progress through its various manifestations. The history of States' rights is a good illustration of the change in the meaning of a question. At one time States' rights meant the right of equal representation in the Senate;

*Art of Debate, p. 16.
†Note that the phrasing puts the Affirmative on the defensive.

at another, the right to decide the slavery question; at another, the right to secede from the Union; while the present stage in its history is concerned with the claim of the right to control natural resources within the borders of the State.

III. The Definition of terms has been left for the third step because very often the Immediate Origin and the History offer sufficient definition of the terms of the proposition. Whenever they do not, the terms should be clearly defined,—not according to a dictionary, but according to the present aspect of the question in the public mind. A question may be defined in several ways: from authority, by eliminating possibly confusing ideas, by contrast, or by comparison. After an acceptable meaning is obtained, then the question should be restated in terms of the definition.

IV. The most important step in the process of analysis is the Clash of Opinion—the setting of all that is contended on one side over against all that is contended on the other. It is only from the clash of opinion that the Special Issues can be derived, and the derivation of the Special Issues is the chief purpose of the process of analysis. In this clash, whenever an affirmative contention and a negative contention meet squarely, the result is an issue; and whenever one side makes a contention that is not met squarely or admitted by the other side, or that is not waived for the purpose of debate, the result is an issue. Suppose, for example, that the Affirmative has three contentions, A, B, and C, and that the Negative has four contentions, A. B. C. and D. Suppose that the first three contentions on the one side meet squarely the first three on the other; three issues would result. But there is left the fourth contention of the Negative. If this contention is not admitted it raises an issue just as surely as does a contention that is met squarely. From this clash of opinion, then, there would rise four issues.

V. The fifth step of analysis is the elimination of admitted or waived matter. Whenever a contention made by one side can be admitted by the other, time and energy are saved. Sometimes, too, a contention raises a question that it would be futile to debate. The question may be one that only the future can answer. It may be a question of present expediency when the real debate is over the principle involved. In any case such a question must be eliminated along with any admitted matter before the definite issues can be derived.

VI. Having cleared away all matter that may be admitted or that is irrelevant, we have left several questions that rose directly out of the clash of the contentions. These questions are the Special Issues. The importance of the Special Issues cannot be overestimated. They are the questions that must be answered before the proposition can be said to be proved or disproved. To find them, as has been said before, is

the main purpose of the process of analysis. To find all of them is the only safety for the debater. A few years ago, in a debate on the proposition, "The Federal Government Should Impose an Inheritance Tax," the Affirmative based its whole argument on the two issues: "Does the Federal Government Need Money?" and "Is the Inheritance Tax a Good Way to Raise Money?" The Negative replied that even if the Federal Government did need money, and the inheritance tax were a good way to raise money, these questions did not affect the main point at issue, which was, "Is the Right to Impose an Inheritance Tax a Function of the Federal Government or of the State?" The Affirmative, having failed to anticipate the most fundamental issue, lost the debate.

PROOF

Having analyzed the proposition and found the fundamental questions, on the answers to which the answer to the main question depends, we next take up the work of proving the proposition.

Proof, or evidence, is of two sorts: direct, or testimonial, and indirect, or reasoning. The first sort is the establishing of facts by means of experts, or authorities; and the second sort is reasoning on those facts and coming to a conclusion in regard to them.

Facts are established by reference to authority, and the strength of this part of evidence depends on the strength of the authority. Every authority should be tested by the following tests at least: Is he a real authority, an expert in his line? Is he honest and unprejudiced? Is his testimony consistent with other known facts?

Indirect evidence, or reasoning, is of two general sorts: that in which from observation of a number of individuals we come to a conclusion about the whole class,—as that green apple is sour, this green apple is sour, the other green apple is sour, therefore all green apples are sour; and that in which we apply the characteristics of a class to a new specimen in order to include it in the class,—as all green apples are sour, this apple is green, therefore this apple is sour. Whenever possible, however, a causal relation should be established between the facts and the conclusion. Otherwise, it is possible that the conclusion may be due to chance or to other causal facts. For example, a speaker recently called attention to the large proportion of lawyers in the Senate of the United States and contended that the only inference that could be drawn was that they were there to represent the Trusts. Of course for that condition there are other more probable causes, such as the superior training of lawyers for legislation.

Two of the more common fallacies, or gaps in argument, are: Begging the Question, in which what is to be proved is assumed to be so; and Ignoring the Question, in which the speaker usually either talks on a side issue or shifts his ground.

REFUTATION

The best preparation for refutation is a thorough knowledge of the question. (See discussion of the Special Issues.) Most refutation is scrappy; an effort is made to attack individual points. Whenever possible, principles and not particular statements should be attacked. The debater must realize that his time for refutation is short and that he should attack the important points in his opponent's argument. These points are of course the Special Issues laid down by that opponent. Unsupported assertions, unrecognized authorities, and gaps in the logic of the opponent's argument should be pointed out as weaknesses and contrasted with the strength, if strength there be, in the debater's own argument.

NOTES ON READING

Elsewhere in this Bulletin suggestions are made as to sources of material. Just a word as to the use of these sources. In order to understand the question, to make a real analysis, the reading must be fair. Both sides must be given a fair hearing. Copious notes must be taken on the reading; but these notes should be of ideas rather than of words, except where authorities are to be quoted. Slips of paper or cards should be used rather than a note book. Use a card for each topic. Indicate at the top of the card the main point or issue and the sub-topic to which the evidence belongs. Make an exact reference to the source at the time. This habit will save much time and trouble. Credit should be given for quoted material.

Brief

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF RAILWAYS

"RESOLVED, *That the Federal Government should own and operate the railways.*"

INTRODUCTION

I. The question is important.

A. The railways today touch every phase of the life of the individual and the Nation and contribute more than any other factor to the social make-up of the State and Nation.

B. The railways are public utilities, and there is a tendency for cities and the National Government alike to take over in their respective spheres all public utilities—in the case of cities, the street railway systems, electric light plants, waterworks systems, etc.; in the case of the Nation, the Post-office, parcel post, postal savings bank, etc.

II. It is timely.

A. The threatened Nation-wide strike of September, 1916, the passage of the Adamson 8-hour work-day law, and the Congressional investigation into the entire railway problem, including the Government ownership aspect, make the question of Federal ownership of railways one of much timeliness.

B. The Adamson law was a temporary measure to relieve an acute situation, and further permanent legislation in reference to the railways of the United States is needed.

III. The three methods of railway ownership and operation are:

A. There may be private ownership.

B. There may be State ownership.

C. There may be Federal ownership.

IV. The question arises as to whether in the future the United States shall continue her present plan of private ownership and operation with Government regulation by the Interstate Commerce Commission or adopt the plan of ownership and operation by the Federal Government.

AFFIRMATIVE

I. Railways are essentially of a public nature and are of such vital importance in the life of the Nation that they must of necessity come to be owned by the Federal Government.

A. The welfare of every man, woman, and child, and of every business house in the country is dependent upon the railways.

1. A Nation-wide railway strike, such as was threatened in 1916, would prevent intercourse and transportation, from place to place, and section to section, thereby causing great suffering and loss everywhere.

B. Private ownership cannot be depended upon to perform steadily satisfactory service at uniform rates.

1. Strikes and rebates and rate discrimination occur under private ownership, whereas they do not occur in Government service.

C. So integrally bound together are the railways and the public welfare that ex-Governor Stubbs of Kansas says: "In considering the general welfare, comfort, and convenience of the people, we find that only the soil on which we live is more important than is the question of efficient, economical transportation service for all persons and property on equal terms and conditions"; Hon. Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, says: "Whoever owns the railways of the country determines very largely the future of the country"; and Bismarck, years ago, said: "Either the Government will own the railroads or the railroads will own the Government."

D. The ownership and operation of railways is essentially a function of Government.

1. Railways are a monopoly issuing from the Government and pedendent upon it.

II. The present system of private ownership and operation has not resulted for the best interests of the people of the Nation.

A. The system places too great responsibility in the hands of a few.

1. Railways constitute a large part of the National wealth.
2. A considerable per cent of the total mileage is controlled by a few corporations.

B. The system is not, as a whole, conducted economically.

1. Unnecessary duplication is carried on in lines, equipment, and service.
2. Needless expenses are incurred for salaries, passes, in rate wars, and to secure business.

C. Watered stock, rate discrimination, and rebates have existed in great degree.

D. Corruption has been found to exist in many high places.
   1. The Interstate Commerce Commission reported in 1914 that the New Haven System presented a glaring instance of maladministration.

E. Accidents and deaths are more frequent than on the Government-owned roads of Europe and passenger and freight rates are higher.

III. Federal ownership would remedy the present evils and provide for the operation of the roads in the interest of the people.

A. The Federal Government would eliminate discriminating rates.
   1. It is contrary to the policy of the Federal Government to give special privileges to any class.
      a. The Post-Office Department offers no special rates to given classes.

B. The Federal Government has no private interest to promote. Its object is to serve all the people.

C. Passenger and freight rates would be lowered.
   1. Great savings would be effected by the consolidation of lines, equipment, offices, and officials.
   2. Many expenses would be eliminated, such as taxation, interest charges, passes, litigation, advertising, and corruption funds.
   3. The large salaries now paid to hundreds of presidents, vice presidents, and other officers would be eliminated.
      a. Many offices could be advantageously combined.
      b. High salaries of many officers now are merely a means of hiding monopoly profits.

IV. Government ownership and operation of the railways is practicable.

A. The Federal Government has shown its capability to conduct work of similar and equally important nature.
   1. It conducts the Post-Office, which has an annual expense of one-seventh the annual expense involved in the railways.
   2. It conducts the parcels post and postal savings bank systems.
   3. It has built the Panama Canal, the world's greatest engineering feat, and operates this successfully.
   4. It conducts a National system of finance.

B. The argument that Government ownership is not practicable because the Government has not sufficient money to buy the roads is not valid.
   1. The lines could be secured gradually, the trunk lines first, and the smaller branches bought with profits realized from the operation of the trunk lines.

2. The Federal Government could issue its own bonds for the stock, and could replace the railway bonds with its own bonds as they become due. The immediate issue of bonds would not exceed nine billions, and the total issue need not exceed nineteen billions.

C. Government ownership would be efficient and economical.
1. Great publicity could be given to the management of affairs.
2. Civil service would secure the most competent and careful service.
3. Extravagance or negligence would be cause for dismissal from service.

D. Such a plan is in harmony with the spirit of American institutions.
1. It is the duty of every government to see to it that public-service corporations are operated in the interest of the public and not as money-making schemes.
2. The American people have time and time again advocated the elimination of all kinds of monopolistic agreements, such as railroad pools, rebates, etc.
3. The sentiment in favor of Government ownership is constantly increasing.

V. Federal ownership has proved successful where it has been tried.
A. Germany has reduced its rates by Government ownership.
B. France gives lower fares under Government service.
C. New Zealand realizes large profits from its railway operations in addition to furnishing excellent service and giving low fares.
D. The experience of Australia and Canada is highly favorable to Government ownership.
E. Our Federal Government now owns and operates successfully two railways in Panama.

NEGATIVE

I. Government ownership of railways would be an unwarranted infringement of private enterprise.
A. It would take from the hands of private parties the greatest and most complex undertaking of modern times, an undertaking that has been built up by years of work and painstaking care.
B. It would take millions of capital out of remunerative investment and force it to seek other channels of trade.

C. Though railway transportation is essentially of a public nature, the Government can by regulation make private operation serve and work for the best interest of the public.

D. The Government should not engage in industrial undertakings.

1. Popular sovereignty is not fitted for such enterprises.
2. Its present duties are already too numerous.

II. The present system of ownership and operation is excellent.

A. Under the present system the general welfare of the Nation has been incalculably advanced.

1. Manufactures and trade have been encouraged.
2. The rapid growth of population has been stimulated.
3. The natural resources of the country have been developed.

B. Railway facilities in the United States are the best in the world.

1. More miles of road have been built than in any other country, both in respect to area and in respect to population.
2. Transportation is cheaper, freight rates having steadily declined and passenger fares, in proportion to population and the quality of the service, being the lowest in existence.
3. The railways have adapted themselves to the needs of the country; new localities have received facilities even when unremunerative.

C. The argument that the present system is objectionable because discrimination in rates is practiced is unsound.

1. Unjust discrimination has for the most part been stopped, by the force of public opinion and by the Interstate Commerce Commission.
2. Whatever unjust discrimination still exists can easily be remedied, by legalizing pooling, by increasing the power and character of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and by a rigid enforcement of the law prohibiting the giving and taking of rebates.

D. American railways are not overcapitalized. Their capitalization per mile is at a lower figure than the capitalization in any European country.

III. Government ownership would be unwise from a political standpoint.

A. Government ownership would necessarily impose enormous burdens upon Congress which would materially detract from Congressional service in other branches of Government.
   1. It would be a physical impossibility for Congress to keep adequately informed in regard to so many activities.

B. Congress would make the railroads an object of political patronage.
   1. Tremendous pressure could be brought to bear on Congressmen from all over the country, compelling them to secure jobs for their constituents.

C. Political parties would make questions of railway management party issues and thus inevitably drag the railroads themselves into political entanglements.

IV. Government ownership would be unwise from a business standpoint, and is impracticable.

A. It would result in extravagance.
   1. Government employees are frequently careless and wasteful in their methods.
   2. Government employees on account of the slow promotion offered in the process of civil service, lack incentive to become more efficient.
   3. It costs the Government four times as much to operate the Postoffice as it would cost efficient private enterprise.

B. The Government could not secure competent management for the roads.
   1. The great captains of industry who now operate the roads would never consent to become mere Government employees.
   2. Congress would be continually dictating the way in which the railroads should be managed.

C. The purchase of the roads alone presents well-nigh insurmountable obstacles.
   1. It would steep the Nation in debt, increasing the National debt beyond all reason. The cost of the roads would be nineteen billion dollars at least.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A list of publications containing valuable material on the query under discussion is given below. The books and magazines can be secured from their publishers. Included in the bibliography are the names of a number of organizations and bureaus which will be glad to furnish material as far as they are able.

GENERAL REFERENCES

The Bureau of Extension of the University of North Carolina will furnish material on the question. Address the Bureau of Extension, Chapel Hill, N. C.

The North Carolina Library Commission will furnish traveling package libraries on the question upon the request of the principal of the school. Address Mrs. Minnie Leatherman Blanton, Secretary, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Debater's Handbook Series — Government Ownership of Railways. Each school should have a copy of this publication of 250 pages or more, issued in December, 1916. Published by the H. W. Wilson Company, New York, N. Y. Price, $1.25.

The Wilson Package Library, consisting of articles clipped from magazines, documents, and pamphlets, will be loaned upon application to the H. W. Wilson Company, New York, N. Y. The minimum charge for the first one to seven articles on each topic in each order is 50 cents; additional articles, 5 cents each.

The Bureau of Railway Economics, Washington, D. C., will furnish material on the negative side of the query. This material consists of reports, pamphlets, statistics, and reprints.

Mr. S. O. Dunn, Chicago, Ill., editor of the *Railway Age Gazette*, will be able to supply the various schools with some material bearing on the query.

The North Carolina Senators and Representatives in Congress will furnish, upon request, from Congressional surces such material as is at their disposal.

The Interstate Commerce Commission, Washington, D. C., will furnish a pamphlet entitled "Abstract of Statistics of Steam Railways in the United States" for the year ended June 30, 1916.

S. O. Dunn — Government Ownership of Railways. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1914, $1.50. This book contains excellent material, and each school is advised to purchase a copy.

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Emory R. Johnson — American Railway Transportation. Part IV, Railways and the State. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1909. $1.50.

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43. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York. 1908. Article by Frank B. Parsons on Railways and Railway Problems. Also article on Public Ownership. $7.50.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION

RESOLVED, *That the Constitution and present school law of North Carolina should be so amended as to require all children between the ages of seven and fourteen, inclusive, who are not physically unable, to attend school six months each year.*

AFFIRMATIVE ARGUMENTS

The State should have the legal right to enforce as complete education as possible of all children, because the efficiency of its citizenship would thereby be increased.

The State should have the legal right to insist that public money spent upon the public school system for the education of all children of school age should accomplish the end sought. The present law has resulted in an improvement in this particular. Its extension would result in a still greater improvement.

Compulsory education within the new limitations suggested would increase the school enrollment and lengthen the time spent in school by each school child. From comparative statistics it has been shown that North Carolina's average in these two important respects has been very low.

Compulsory education causes school attendance to be more regular. This, in North Carolina, has been very irregular, and under the present North Carolina law the machinery for the strict enforcement of the attendance feature has not been properly provided for.

NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS

Such an extension of the present law would result in the further infringement of individual liberty. It would be especially burdensome upon very small children who lived at a distance from the schoolhouse.

Compulsory attendance makes discipline in the schools more difficult because of the discord occasioned by pupils who are unwilling to attend. Parents also occasion discord if their children are forced to attend against their will.

Such extension of the law would result in further overcrowding of schoolhouses and classes. Unless more money is provided for the schools the present number of teachers could not teach the increased numbers. This would result in very inefficient teaching.

During 1913, in some counties in North Carolina, it was difficult to secure sufficient teachers for all the schools. Unless better salaries are paid, this condition would be intensified under the proposed measure.

Other measures than the one proposed are in part responsible for the lack of attendance. Schoolhouses could be more centrally located; greater interest could be taken in the school by the committee and leading citizens; the teacher could study local conditions more carefully and become more closely allied with the interests of the community. This would count for more than enforced, involuntary attendance.

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INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

RESOLVED, *That the Constitution of North Carolina should be so amended as to allow the initiative and referendum in State-wide legislation.*

INTRODUCTION

Certain evils existing in the various State governments have aroused wide-spread discussion as to the possible means of their elimination.

Many statesmen and reformers are advocating, as a remedy, the adoption of the initiative and referendum.

The fundamental idea behind the initiative is that the voters in the State may at their own option suggest and vote upon given measures, irrespective of any action by the State Legislature. If a majority of those casting ballots vote in favor of the measure, it becomes a law. If a majority be against a measure, it does not become a law.

The referendum operates in much the same way. If the Legislature passes a measure which does not meet with popular approval, the voters may by means of the referendum have the question submitted to popular vote. The Legislature is forced to abide by the decision of the voters as expressed at the election.

The initiative and referendum are in use in foreign countries and in a number of American States and cities.

AFFIRMATIVE ARGUMENTS

The initiative and referendum are logical and natural outgrowths in the development of American government. They are in harmony

with the development that has preceded them. They begin at the points where the previous reform measures leave off.

The initiative and referendum will secure better government. They will raise the standard of citizenship. They will put legislation on a business-like basis. They will do away with undesirable legislation, either intentional or unintentional.

The initiative and referendum are practical. They require only the ordinary election machinery. They are exceedingly simple in operation. They are comparatively inexpensive.

The initiative and referendum have proved uniformly successful; for "Boss" rule has been eliminated in South Dakota. Granting of special privileges has been prevented in Oklahoma. Corporate domination has been done away with in Oregon. Switzerland has been signally successful in using the measures.

North Carolina needs the initiative and referendum. Many sorely needed State-wide laws have failed of enactment whose passage would be hastened by the adoption of this amendment. The passage of this amendment would have a salutary effect in that the Legislature would then be compelled to listen closely to the people in the making of laws.

NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS

The initiative and referendum are contrary to the fundamental principles of American government; for they strike at the very root of representative government. They encourage hasty and unwise action.

The argument that the initiative and referendum will secure better government is not valid. It is a very simple matter to secure fraudulent signatures on initiative and referendum petitions. The initiative and referendum give a hasty and immature tone to legislation.

The initiative and referendum are impractical in actual operation. Voters have failed to show any permanent increased interest in public affairs. Voters have been very superficial in their investigations of pending problems. Voters have used the measures only spasmodically, and have thus kept legislatures in continual doubt as to what course to pursue. Special interests have found it comparatively easy to circularize the State and secure the passage of measures particularly favorable to them.

Present conditions do not warrant the adoption of such measures as the initiative and referendum. State governments are comparatively free from abuses. In those instances where unworthy or inefficient legislators are in power, the evil can be remedied by the voters coming to the polls and electing good men to office. The responsibility rests entirely with the people even at the present time.

North Carolina does not need the initiative and referendum. If there were a vital need, as the affirmative contends, for the State-wide laws they propose, it would long ago have asserted itself under our system. The working of the initiative and referendum in other states is not of such a nature as to justify their extension to North Carolina.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Resolved, *That the Constitution of North Carolina should be so amended as to allow women to vote under the same qualifications as men.*

INTRODUCTION

Better education and advanced ideas of government have brought about a demand for more rights and privileges for women. One of the most important of these is woman suffrage.

In practically all of the leading countries there is an agitation for it. Eleven American states have it in full, and a dozen or more have it in part, as do New Zealand, Australia, Norway, Switzerland, and other foreign countries.

The question presents four main issues: (1) Do women have the right of suffrage? (2) Is it best for them to have it? (3) Is it best for the State for them to have it? (4) Have its results elsewhere been such as to justify its extension to North Carolina?

AFFIRMATIVE ARGUMENTS

The suffrage is a right to which women are entitled on the ground that mental equipment rather than physical ability is the correct basis for granting the privilege of voting. In a democracy equals should share in determining the character of their government.

The suffrage would benefit women mentally and socially in that it would lead them to study civil and political questions; it would develop a sense of responsibility in them; it would result in their securing laws more favorable to their economic and legal standing.

It would benefit the State. Women are morally inclined to vote for good causes. Consequently corrupt measures would be defeated and corruption in politics would be decreased. Their interest in the welfare of their homes and children would lead them to enact laws favorable to homes, schools, public health, etc.

In the European War, women of every country have come to the aid of their governments and have shown their ability to take an active part in all phases of life.

The reasons which make woman suffrage admirable in other states hold in North Carolina. Better men have been elected to office. Elections have been more orderly. Furthermore, in their effort to secure better child labor laws, longer school terms, greater library privileges, etc., the women of North Carolina need the ballot. In North Carolina women have served well on school boards. Why should they not be allowed to serve elsewhere?

NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS

The suffrage should not be granted to women because they have not shown their mental equality with men in the formation of constructive policies; they would not be able to carry into effect the measures they would enact; and they at present have representation in government through men.

The suffrage would be detrimental to women in that it would burden them with new responsibilities, take them away from their homes, and lower them in the estimation of men. Furthermore, the suffrage would be used by bad women as well as by good women.

Granting the suffrage would be detrimental to the State. Women who did not understand the issues involved would become dangerous tools in the hands of scheming politicians, and their interest in their homes would be neglected on account of their interest in politics.

Results in other States do not warrant the adoption of woman suffrage in North Carolina. Good school laws have been secured without their participation in politics. There is no foreign vote in the State to be offset by them as in the case of some of the States in which the suffrage is granted. North Carolina women are by nature homemakers, not office-seekers.

GENERAL REFERENCES

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TAXATION

Resolved, *That North Carolina should abolish all taxes save one single tax levied on land, irrespective of improvements.*

Resolved, *That North Carolina should tax all vacant town lots and unimproved country land at their full value.*

RESOLVED, *That North Carolina should adopt the Houston plan of taxation, whereby revenue is raised by taxing land at its full value and improvements on land at 25 per cent of their value.*

RESOLVED, *That North Carolina should abolish the compulsory poll tax.*

RESOLVED, *That North Carolina should provide for the segregation of the sources of State and local revenues.*

RESOLVED, *That the Legislature of North Carolina should provide for the full assessment of all property.*

If these queries are debated, it is understood that their constitutionality is granted.

Possibly no question under discussion in North Carolina today is receiving more consideration than that of taxation. Of the ten proposed amendments to the Constitution of North Carolina defeated in November, 1914, one treated of taxation and involved an almost complete revision of the article devoted to that subject. That this is the case is due to the fact that under the present system the burdens of taxation are unequally distributed and inadequate revenue is provided for the proper development of a rapidly growing prosperous State.

The first three queries given above center around the Single Tax idea of Henry George, which contemplates the raising of all revenues by means of a single tax on land. The arguments advanced by the advocates of this plan are:

It would save a large amount of the expense involved in the present method of tax gathering, as there would be but one tax and that on land.

It would increase the production of wealth by taking the taxes off of industry and thrift, as evidenced by buildings and machinery, and placing it on land, which is frequently held for speculation. It would have the effect of making more land available for industry, as it would make it unprofitable for landowners to hold land for purely speculative purposes. It would exempt from taxation the products of the laborer and place the burden of taxation upon the landowner. In these various ways the extremes of poverty and wealth would be limited and the general welfare of society would be promoted.

The effect in cities would be beneficial, because it would tend to limit overcrowding. More dwellings would be built upon the vacant city lots now held at exorbitant prices. In the country, farm owners would pay taxes on the land which they could cultivate to profit, and no more. Speculators would not be able to hold land out of use. The poor could buy land at a lower price, and thus help develop the community instead of becoming ineffective tenants.

The Houston plan (described in detail in the *State Journal* of January 9, 1914), the results of which have been remarkably successful, provides for the taxing of land at its full value and of merchandise, improvements, and machinery at 25 per cent of their value. Cash, notes, household furniture, etc., are entirely exempt from taxation. In actual practice, land in Houston has been taxed at only 70 to 75 per cent of its full value. It has increased so rapidly in value that it has been impossible to keep the assessments abreast with the advancing prices. This plan represents a modification of the straight-out single tax idea.

The practice of levying a poll tax has been discontinued in most of the European countries and the trend of thought is for its abolishment in the United States. It is not especially effective in raising revenue. It also imposes a burden on the poor from which they cannot escape, whereas the wealthy frequently escape taxation on the full valuation of land and other property.

The question of segregation of the sources of revenue is comparatively new in North Carolina. It proposes to use the revenue for the maintenance of the State government and State institutions from sources of a State-wide nature, such as incomes, corporations, franchises, inheritances, etc., and the revenue for town and county governments from local sources, such as real estate and personal property.

The demand for a skilled equalization board and a more effective method of assessment of all property has risen out of the failure of the present system to equalize assessments and to place all property on the tax books. An efficient board of equalization would be able to fix standards by which assessments in all the counties and townships of the State would be unified.

The literature on these various problems is constantly growing. The following are sources from which information may be secured:

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COMMISSION FORM OF CITY GOVERNMENT

RESOLVED, *That the commission form of city government should be adopted in every city in North Carolina having over seven thousand five hundred inhabitants.*

RESOLVED, *That the city of ..... should adopt the commission form of government.*

RESOLVED, *That the city of ..... should adopt the city manager form of government.*

The characteristic features of city government in cities which have not adopted the commission form are: The city is divided into small divisions or wards from each of which an alderman is elected. The city council is composed of these aldermen, who serve without pay, and a paid mayor who is elected at large. The aldermen enact ordinances, or pass city legislation, which the mayor and those who hold positions under him enforce.

Under the commission form the commission is made up of a few men (usually three), of whom one is chairman or mayor and the others commissioners. They are all elected from the city at large. They devote their whole time to the city's business and are paid regular salaries. They both enact city regulations and carry them out.

Advocates of the commission plan contend that it is desirable because it fixes responsibility both in legislation and administration. It is efficient, it is direct, it promotes the welfare of the city, and is economical. It is democratic, and it brings the services of strong, aggressive business men to the administration of the city's affairs.

The opponents of city government by commission argue that it is contrary to the spirit of American government which provides for the separation of the legislative and executive divisions; that the number of commissioners is so small that the needs of all the sections of the city cannot be noted; that it places too much legislative and administrative power in the same hands; that it makes political graft on a large scale possible; and that it does not eliminate evils which could not just as effectively be eliminated under the prevailing plan.

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RURAL CREDIT AND AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATION

RESOLVED, *That the farmers of ..... should form a coöperative rural credit association.*

RESOLVED, *That the farmers of ..... should form a coöperative association for the buying of supplies, farm implements, and machinery.*

RESOLVED, *That the farmers of ..... should form a coöperative marketing association.*

RESOLVED, *That the farmers of ..... should form a coöperative creamery.*

RESOLVED, *That the farmers of ..... should form a coöperative breeding association.*

While this general topic may not admit of a formal debate, it can be discussed with very great profit by every farmers' organization in the State. The literature on the subject which will aid in making such discussions clear and intelligent is growing daily. The following will be found to be useful sources of information:

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Wolff, H. W. Coöperation in Agriculture. London. P. S. King & Son, 1912. $1.50.

The most recent publication is the statement of C. W. Thompson, Part I, given at the hearing before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives on Dec. 3-4, 1913. It can be secured from Representatives and Senators or from the Superintendents of Documents, Washington, D. C.

GOOD ROADS

(The outlines concerning roads are furnished by the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, Chapel Hill, N. C.)

RESOLVED, *That for most counties in North Carolina the bond issue is the most feasible way of obtaining funds for road construction; and that the county should be the unit rather than the township.*

AFFIRMATIVE STATEMENT

1. Because it is the quickest way to get a system of roads for a county and relieves the county from a bad roads tax. (See Economic Paper, No. 27, of the N. C. Geological and Economic Survey, pp. 123-127.)

2. It is generally considered good policy to borrow money in order to improve or augment a business and to buy by wholesale rather than retail; the same applies to the building of improved roads, as a system covering a large area involving the expenditure of a considerable sum of money can be built much cheaper per mile than when the mileage to be built is limited and the funds are limited, so that only a mile or two of improved road can be built each year.

3. A bond issue large enough to build a county system of improved roads can be taken care of by a county with greater ease than by a special tax (except where the county contains a large city); because the tax necessary to pay interest on the bonds and create a sinking fund would be considerably less than a road tax which would yield enough to enable the county to build more than a small mileage of good roads each year and maintain in a slight degree the old dirt roads. This is particularly true of most of the North Carolina counties, as few of them have any large towns which would yield very much money from taxation for building county roads.

4. As the next generation will reap the benefit of a system of well-located and constructed roads, the advocates of this system for securing road funds hold that it should bear a proportion of the cost of location and construction of such roads; and the bond issue plan carries out this idea.

5. The county is able to sell its bonds at a much cheaper rate of interest than the township, and there is also a readier market for county than for township bonds.

6. With the county as a unit there would be less expense in the administration of road matters than if each township should have its own road commission, road engineer, road equipment, etc.

7. The convict camp can be more easily and economically handled with the county force as the unit.

8. The county can afford to employ a competent road engineer, whereas it would be impossible for each township to employ such a man permanently; and, without a competent road engineer, the road fund will be spent to little or no advantage.

9. Perhaps the greatest objection to any subdivision being used, except the county, is the fact that if townships begin to use bonds for their road construction (and it is always the richer townships that start such a move) it will result in the richer townships getting good roads and make it almost impossible for the remaining townships to get their roads for many years, or even generations to come. The richer townships will get their roads and will not care to help with roads for adjacent townships.

REFERENCES

Good Roads Circulars, Nos. 52, 78, 79, 90, and 92, of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey.

Economic Paper, No. 27, of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, pp. 45-46, 123-127; Economic Paper, No. 30, pp. 68-71.

Southern Good Roads, October, 1912, pp. 22-24.

OTHER ROAD QUESTIONS

RESOLVED, *That the administration of county road matters should be in the hands of a nonpolitical board or commission.*

REFERENCES

Economic Papers, Nos. 27 and 30, of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey.

Good Roads Circulars, Nos. 68, 81, and 90, of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey.

RESOLVED, *That all dirt and surfaced roads should be maintained, and to assist this maintenance there should be a State law regulating width of tires of all vehicles using the public roads.*

REFERENCES

Economic Paper, No. 30, of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey.

Southern Good Roads, October, 1912, pp. 5-8.

GENERAL REFERENCES ON ROAD QUESTIONS

Goods Roads Circulars, Nos. 65, 68, 70, and 95, of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey.

Economic Papers, Nos. 27 and 30, of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey.

Southern Good Roads, August, 1911, pp. 5-9.

Bulletin No. 24 of the U. S. Office of Public Roads, giving Proceedings of the North Carolina Good Roads Convention held in Raleigh, February, 1902.

Bulletin No. 22 of the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction—"Civic Days." (This should be in the Library of every school, as it has been distributed amongst the schools.)

ENGINEERING ASSISTANCE TO COUNTIES

RESOLVED, *That the State should furnish engineering assistance to counties.*

In each State of the Union, which has begun to undertake seriously to solve its road problems, State aid has been adopted in some form or other. In most cases highway commissions have been established, or highway departments in the Geological Surveys have been given appropriations varying from $50,000 to $1,000,000 annually to assist the counties in their road building. Some States are furnishing State convicts to counties; others help in the actual construction of the roads; while others furnish engineers to counties or townships for the location and supervision of the construction of roads and bridges.

A State should furnish at least engineering assistance and have supervision of the location and construction of the public roads. Such a form of State aid will provide:

1. Competent engineers for locating roads, giving advice as to their construction and assisting in the organization of a system of maintenance.

2. Testing materials in various sections and determining their value for road surfacing purposes and advising the county authorities as to the most reliable and economical materials for their own particular section.

3. Assistance to counties and townships in drawing up specifications for constructing certain parts of their road work; as grading, drainage, and, in some cases, surfacing.

4. Inspection of completed work to see if specifications have been carried out.

5. Advice and suggestions to county officials as to the kind of road machinery needed and what machinery to use which would be to the advantage of the county.

6. Advice and assistance to counties in connection with bridge work, helping them to draw up specifications, etc.

7. Each State engineer would be efficiently supervised, whereas the county engineer is responsible only to the county authorities and, in most cases, county authorities have not the expert knowledge which would make them capable judges of the work done.

8. The use of the State engineer in locating county roads will tend to eliminate local politics, which have hitherto played such a disastrous part in the proper location of our roads. During the past decade we have wasted in repairing old roads (located by Indians, buffaloes, or by old property lines, with grades running from 6 to 10 or 12 per cent) from six to ten million dollars.

State engineering assistance and supervision will result in:

1. Great saving in the expenditure of the money derived from a bond issue or special tax.

2. Roads properly located, irrespective of personal interests or politics.

3. Roads constructed out of the best and most economical materials available for each county. Only a skilled engineer of wide experience is capable of judging as to the proper materials for the construction of good, permanent roads.

4. The advantage of the most up-to-date knowledge in road building, as such a department will keep in touch with all modern methods of road building, bridge building, etc., and conduct experiments of its own to ascertain whether such methods can be used economically and effectively in the different sections of North Carolina.

REFERENCES

Good Roads Circulars, Nos. 61, 68, and 91, of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey.

Economic Paper, No. 30, of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, pp. 20-22.

Southern Good Roads, April, 1910, pp. 5-7; January, 1911, pp. 19-20; January, 1911, pp. 23-26; February, 1911, pp. 10-11; June 1911, pp. 5-8; September, 1912, pp. 8-16; December, 1912, pp. 5-11.

"State Supervision and State Aid," Ohio Highway Department, Bulletin No. 4, 1905.

CONVICT LABOR

RESOLVED, *That State convicts should be used in the construction of public roads.*

Any labor that may be required of the convict that is in direct competition with free labor is not to the best interest of the citizens of the

State, inasmuch as it is liable to cause an unsettled condition amongst the laborers with which the convict labor is in competition. The work that the convict does should be of such a nature that the people of the State could feel that they are deriving some direct benefit from it. The methods used by so many States in working their convicts, such as in manufacturing establishments, in mines, on farms, in turpentine forests, and in the construction of railroads, do not employ the convicts in a work out of which the State derives direct benefit and the work is largely in the interest of individuals and private corporations.

Considering the scarcity of labor in our rural sections, this is one employment of convict labor which for many years to come will not in any way be in competition with free labor.

Such employment engages the convict in healthful occupation. It is believed by those advocating this outdoor work for convicts that it not only improves the physical health of the convicts but, in many instances, their experiences as road builders have improved their general character and prepared them for better citizenship.

It is believed that work on the public roads is the best possible punishment for all kinds of criminals; and that, in the end, it is the best solution for the care of the convicts of all classes. There are sufficient types of work connected with public road work, so that the more intelligent and better educated men who are convicted of crime can act as foremen, superintendents, bookkeepers, blacksmiths, machinists, etc.

REFERENCES

Southern Good Roads, October, 1910, p. 18; November 1910, pp. 29-32; November, 1910, pp. 10-12; December, 1910, pp. 3-5; June, 1912, pp. 16-18; December, 1912, pp. 12-13 and 18-19; September, 1913, pp. 22-23.

Economic Paper, No. 27, of the North Carolina Geological and Economic Survey, pp. 67-72; No. 30, pp. 25-37.

Biennial Report of the State Geologist, 1911-12, pp. 55-56.

Year Book of the Department of Agriculture for 1901, pp. 321-330.

OTHER PRISON QUESTIONS

Resolved, That North Carolina should adopt a complete system of Prison Parole.

Resolved, That North Carolina should pay the dependents of prisoners in the State Prison a fair wage for the work of the prisoners.

REFERENCES

Handbook Series on Prison Reform. H. W. Wilson Company, New York, N. Y. $1.25.

North Carolina, Board of Charities, Annual Report, Raleigh, N. C.

North Carolina Commission of Public Welfare, Raleigh, N. C.

State Journal. January 23, 1914. Economics of Convict Labor in Road Construction. Joseph Hyde Pratt.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. March, 1913, 188 pp. contributed by 33 authors devoted to every phase of prison labor and prison reform.

Conference for Charities and Corrections. Proceedings, 1912.

Survey. January 11, 1913. Results of Parole Law in Indiana.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION OF INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES

Resolved, *That Congress should pass a law requiring compulsory arbitration of labor disputes where the greater part of the business in which they are engaged is interstate commerce.*

INTRODUCTION

The industrial development in the United States has caused vast masses of the people to organize into trades unions apart from the capitalists and employers; as a result there have been strikes, lockouts, and general social warfare. These frequently, as in the case of the threatened railroad strike of September, 1916, vitally affect the welfare of the whole public.

The employment of large numbers of women and children in factories; the growth of poverty and degradation on a large scale; the demand for all kinds of legislation mitigating the evils of the capitalists; and, finally, the insistence of the labor unions upon their demands regardless of the public safety, call forth an attack upon the very basis of the industrial system itself.

AFFIRMATIVE ARGUMENTS

The existing conditions in our industrial system demand a remedy in that the present methods do not afford a desirable remedy for the great evils connected with industrial warfare, such as violence and serious disturbances of the public peace, often accompanied by destruction of life and property.

Compulsory Arbitration offers the desired remedy, in that decision

by reason is better than decision by force, and will abolish the dangers that threaten the general public in times of strikes and lockouts.

Compulsory Arbitration is practicable in that it has been successful wherever it has been tried; and it extends industrial justice to those who are not able to conduct a strike in order to secure their rights.

It is the duty of the Government to establish this system in that the primary purpose of government is the promotion of peace and public welfare, and the public welfare is involved in all labor disputes.

NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS

Compulsory Arbitration is unnecessary in that less than 4 per cent of the men engaged in industry are involved in strikes annually, and strikes are decreasing.

Compulsory Arbitration is unwise in that it destroys individual liberty, gives the courts too much authority, and is unjust to the employers.

Compulsory Arbitration is impracticable in that it has not prevented strikes where it has been adopted, no good results have been shown, and in West Australia the system has been entirely abandoned.

Compulsory Arbitration cannot succeed in this country in that men might be forced to work at the point of the bayonet, and this form of involuntary servitude will never be tolerated in the United States.

GENERAL REFERENCES

Debaters' Handbook on Compulsory Arbitration. H. W. Wilson Company, New York, N. Y. $1.25.

Report of Industrial Commission, vol. 14, pp. 46-48; vol. 17, pp. 111-113, 129-130, 133-134; vol. 19, pp. 861-862.

Outlook, vol. 72, pp. 235-236; vol. 83, pp. 261-263; vol. 86, pp. 88-89; vol. 94, pp. 648-649.

Independent, vol. 51, pp. 2029-2030; vol. 54, pp. 2219-2220, 2228-2230, 2378-2379.

Nation, vol. 40, pp. 377-378; vol. 42 p. 354; vol. 44, pp. 112-113; vol. 59, p. 42.

Nineteenth Century, vol. 40, pp. 743-758.

North American Review, vol. 175, pp. 91-98.

AFFIRMATIVE REFERENCES

Annals of American Academy, vol. 37, pp. 203-211.

Arena, vol. 17, p. 663.

Independent, vol. 54, pp. 2681-2682.

John P. Peter's "Labor and Capital," p. 185.

Report of Industrial Commission, vol. 14, p. 142; vol. 17, pp. 699-700.
Review of Reviews, vol. 6, pp. 168-174; vol. 10, pp. 178-184; vol. 23, pp. 328-333; vol. 37, pp. 746-747.
Survey, vol. 25, pp. 615-616; vol. 27, pp. 1936-1939.
World's Work, vol. 3, pp. 1781-1783; vol. 5, p. 2856; vol. 26, pp. 438-444.

NEGATIVE REFERENCES

Annals of American Academy, vol. 36, pp. 302-310.
American Federationist, vol. 21, pp. 316-320, 731-733.
Arena, vol. 17, pp. 922-928; vol. 23, pp. 499-515; vol. 40, pp. 137-141.
Chautauquan, vol. 7, pp. 614-615.
Forum, vol. 15, pp. 323-331.
John P. Peter's "Labor and Capital," pp. 153-160.
Outlook, vol. 94, pp. 774-776.
Review of Reviews, vol. 46, pp. 367-368.
Report of Industrial Commission, vol. 7, pp. 11-12; vol. 9, p. 71; vol. 17, p. 701.

PROHIBITION

Resolved, *That the sale, manufacture, and importation of alcoholic liquors should be prohibited in the United States by constitutional amendment, with the reservation to Congress of the right to provide for the sale and manufacture of alcoholic liquors for medicinal, scientific, and sacramental purposes.*

INTRODUCTION

The first important prohibition movement in the United States began with the adoption of State-wide prohibition by Georgia in 1907. Since that time prohibition has been making steady progress in the United States, especially in the South and West, until there are now twenty-five states which have adopted prohibition. Three of these states have given it a thorough test, these being Maine, which has had prohibition since 1858, Kansas, since 1869, and North Dakota, since 1889. Several attempts have been made in Congress to make prohibition a Nation-wide measure. In 1876 the first resolution to establish prohibition throughout the Union by amendment to the Constitution was introduced by Henry W. Blair in the House of Representatives. This was followed in 1914 by a similar resolution introduced by Richmond Pearson Hobson. The Hobson resolution was defeated, failing to get the two-thirds vote necessary to pass, but it received a majority of the votes that were cast. So much agitation of the liquor question has resulted largely from the growth and appalling magnitude of the liquor business. In 1913 the

American people paid for intoxicating liquors nearly two and one-half billion dollars, or an average of $125 per family. Also the amount of capital now invested in the manufacture of liquor is the enormous sum of $800,000,000, and the number of men employed in this business is approximately 80,000. Accordingly, the question of the Federal Government's relation to the liquor business is a vital and tremendously important one.

As a result of the world war prohibition has been largely enforced in all the leading warring countries, and the United States Congress has recently given President Wilson power to suspend the manufacture of liquor as a special war measure.

AFFIRMATIVE ARGUMENTS

The manufacture and sale of liquors impose a tremendous burden on the country, causing 25 per cent of the poverty of the country, 37 per cent of the pauperism, 45.8 per cent of child misery, 25 per cent of insanity, 19.5 per cent of divorce, and 50 per cent of the crime, at the same time making labor inefficient, causing industrial accidents, and wasting thousands of bushels of grain in the manufacture of a poison.

It has had a profound corrupting influence upon the politics and national life of the country, in a large measure producting the degenerate vote and furnishing funds to purchase this vote, as well as corrupting public men in general.

Prohibition is the only effective measure to remedy this unbearable condition, since all other remedies have failed, while it has proved remarkably successful wherever given a fair trial, having reduced insanity, degeneracy, poverty, and crime, and at the same time having helped education.

National prohibition is the most efficacious form of prohibition since it will prevent a "wet" section of the country from shipping liquor into a "dry" section, while at the same time it is in harmony with the principles of our government.

NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS

National prohibition is a violation of states' rights, for it is the proper sphere of the states to regulate the sale and manufacture of liquor, derived from their police power to legislate for public morals.

National prohibition cannot be enforced in areas where the people are opposed to it, thus bringing about a disregard of and contempt for the law and at the same time producing a crop of baleful substitutes such as cocaine.

National prohibition is not a fit subject to write into our Constitution, our Constitution being the fundamental frame of government and not a code of special laws.

REFERENCES

Committee of Fifty. Liquor Problem: A Summary of the Investigations Conducted by the Committee of Fifty, 1893-1903. Houghton, 1905.

Congressional Record, December 22, 1914.

Debaters' Handbook Series. Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic. Revised Edition 1917. H. W. Wilson Company, New York, N. Y. $1.25.

Bliss, W. D. P., ed. New Encyclopedia of Social Reform, Funk, 1908.

Mabie, Edward C. University Debaters' Annual, 1915-1916.

Münsterberg, Hugo. American Problems, 1910.

National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association. The Anti-Prohibition Manual, Cincinnati, 1915.

Stewart, G. N. Manual of Physiology.

LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE

Resolved, *That the program of the League to Enforce Peace should be adopted by the nations as a system to provide for the firm guarantee of peace.*

INTRODUCTION

Almost with one accord the nations today are agreed that some system should be adopted providing for an international tribunal to hear and settle disputes between nations; such tribunal to have authority to enforce its decisions and, thus, prevent war between the signatory nations.

When President Wilson asked Congress to declare war on Germany in April, he did so with the feeling that at the close of the war the nations would unite in forming some organization that would make it impossible for nations to engage again in armed conflicts.

Various plans and programs have been proposed in the leading countries, but that of the American League to Enforce Peace seems the most generally accepted.

AFFIRMATIVE ARGUMENTS

The adoption of this program is expedient in that public sentiment everywhere recognizes the wisdom of settling disputes amicably and peaceably by arbitration.

The policy is entirely practical in that it is based on the same principle as the government of the United States; the signatory nations would be bound together into a union, and no nation would have a right to withdraw from or make war upon another member of this union.

It is advisable in that the morality of nations lags behind that of the people who compose them; for in all the more advanced nations the

laws forbid fighting and provide courts in which the people may settle their disputes.

Only by the establishment of some international court of permanent jurisdiction as the proposed plan provides can permanent peace be maintained.

NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS

The adoption of this program is wrong in principle in that for it to succeed the pepole would have to relinquish their loyalty to their own nation, which loyalty carries a higher obligation than any considerations of abstract justice or the good of humanity.

It is impractical in that at the close of the war old antagonisms will only be intensified, and there will be too many competing ambitions for the nations to surrender their right to fight for their interests.

It is unfair in that an international court would be dominated by the larger nations, thus giving the smaller nations little voice in its proceedings.

It is unnecessary in that the rights of nations can be sufficiently protected by treaties; the present war is being fought to maintain Belgium's treaty rights as would be done under the proposed plan.

REFERENCES

American Journal of International Law, July, 1917.
Annals of the American Academy, vol. 66.
Edinburgh Review, July, 1917, pp. 1-27.
Independent, vol. 86, pp. 264, 358.
Literary Digest, vol. 53, p. 1238.
Nation, vol. 103, p. 413.
New Republic, vol. 7, pp. 102-104; vol. 9, pp. 60-62.
Outlook, vol. 112, pp. 831-833; vol. 114, pp. 118, 524, 526.
Survey, vol. 36, pp. 281-282.

COMPULSORY MILITARY TRAINING

RESOLVED, *That a system of Compulsory Military Training in schools and colleges should be adopted by the United States.*

INTRODUCTION

The great world war brought home to the United States in 1914 the fact that some additions to our means of defense was necessary to insure the safety of the Nation. It became clear that our standing army was too small, that the National Guard did not prove adequate as a reserve

force, and that it was contrary to the ideas of democracy to depend upon volunteer service for protection.

Some of the causes leading to this condition were, that we had enjoyed a long period of peace; we felt secure by reason of our isolation; we felt that our wealth and apparent strength would serve as a deterrent to attack; and we had developed a decided tendency towards pacifism.

In order to better protect ourselves, the following remedies have been proposed: the increase of our regular army, the federalization of the National Guard, and universal military education.

The points of issue are, Is compulsory military training of some sort essential to national safety, and is such training in educational institutions the best means of securing it?

AFFIRMATIVE ARGUMENTS

From a military point of view, compulsory military training in schools and colleges is satisfactory. It furnishes a simple basis for a large army. It does not cost as much as a regular army or as a national guard, because it furnishes military training at the same time other training is given. Training after war begins is necessarily wasteful of men and money.

It is desirable in schools and colleges for its educational benefits. It promotes physical welfare, intellectual improvement, and the habit of obedience. It makes school discipline easier, teaches self-control, and develops respect for law and order. The students find it an agreeable change from classroom work and take pride in feeling that they are prepared to serve their country.

Compulsory military training is a democratizing agency. It puts all students upon an equal basis, thereby discouraging cliques and school organizations. Patriotism is stimulated without fostering a love of war for war's sake.

NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS

Compulsory military training is a detriment to the schools. The primary object of schools is to train for citizenship, and not for war; and if military training is included in the curriculum, studies desirable for civil education must be omitted for lack of time. Patriotism and self-control can be taught in other ways.

As physical exercise, military training is greatly overrated, as better results can be secured through gymnastic exercises. Frequently, the training would be too strenuous for the younger students and those having slight physical defects. Such training is not desirable in the schools, as it tends to lower the standards and is contrary to the wishes

of a large number of our people. Furthermore, it lays an expense upon the individual pupil which should properly be borne by the Government.

The spirit of true democracy is discouraged by such training, as emphasis is transferred from good citizenship to blind obedience. The idea is inculcated that differences between nations can only be settled by war, and the spirit of militarism is developed. A democracy is fundamentally opposed to the militaristic régime and it should attempt to avert war through a league to enforce peace or international arbitration.

REFERENCES

Debaters' Handbook Series, Military Training in Schools and Colleges, including Military Camps. H. W. Wilson Company, New York, N. Y. $1.25.

Debaters' Handbook Series, National Defense (vol. 2). H. W. Wilson Company, New York, N. Y. $1.25.

University Debaters' Annual, 1915-16. H. W. Wilson Company, New York, N. Y. $1.80.

Academy of Political Science, Military Training, Compulsory or Volunteer, July, 1916, New York, N. Y.

For copies of *Congressional Record* and public documents, write your Congressman or Senator at Washington, D. C.

Questions for Debate

As indicated in another chapter of this handbook, material on many of the following suggested questions may be secured from the Library of the University and the North Carolina Library Commission, Raleigh, N. C.

Cabinet Members

Resolved, That members of the President's cabinet should be allowed a seat and voice in Congress.

Capital Punishment

Resolved, That the Constitution of North Carolina should be so amended as to prohibit capital punishment.

Closed Shop

Resolved, That the movement for the closed shop in the United States should receive the support of public opinion.

Compulsory Arbitration of Industrial Disputes

Resolved, That capital and labor should be compelled to settle their disputes in legally established courts of arbitration.

Conservation

Resolved, That the Federal control of our natural resources should be strengthened and extended.

Corrupt Practices Act

Resolved, That North Carolina should enact an effective corrupt practices act.

County Problems

Resolved, That the absentee landlord is a menace to the economical development of a community.

Resolved, That ..... County should set apart two days annually for the public discussion of its economic, social, educational, and religious problems.

Resolved, That ..... County should hold an annual county fair.

Resolved, That all county officers in ..... County should be nominated through a legalized direct primary.

Resolved, That ..... County, in which the public library of .....

city is located, should appropriate, through its commissioners, a fund in return for which said city library should extend its privileges to the citizens of the county.

Resolved, That the church should lead in the economic and social as well as the spiritual life of a rural community.

Resolved, That all county officers in ..... County should be paid fixed salaries instead of fees.

Resolved, That it is expedient for ..... County to increase the salaries of its public school teachers at least 25 per cent.

Resolved, That ..... County should have a strict stock law.

Disarmament

Resolved, That all the nations now at war should agree to a gradual system of disarmament at the close of the World War.

Education

Resolved, That the ..... High School should offer courses in agriculture and domestic science.

Resolved, That work done in agriculture and domestic science courses in North Carolina high schools be counted for entrance in the State's educational institutions.

Resolved, That districts ..... in ..... County should be consolidated.

Resolved, That ..... County should establish a farm-life school.

Resolved, That free tuition should be given to all North Carolina students in attendance at the State's educational institutions.

Resolved, That the county rather than the township should be made the unit in voting special taxes for schools.

Resolved, That the ..... High School should adopt student self-government.

Resolved, That all high schools should adopt military training.

Resolved, That ..... High School should adopt the honor system.

Employment of Women

Resolved, That North Carolina should enact a law preventing all women over 16 years of age from working in any manufacturing establishment at night.

Forestry

Resolved, That forest planting is the best method of providing for a future timber supply.

Resolved, That the stockman is a worse enemy to the forests of North Carolina than the lumberman.

Health

Resolved, That ..... County should provide a medical inspector of schools.

Resolved, That ..... County should provide a whole-time health officer.

Resolved, That physicians should be public officials and paid by the public.

Resolved, That ..... County should establish and maintain a tuberculosis sanatorium.

Resolved, That all schools supported by the State, in whole or in part, should require compulsory vaccination for smallpox of all students as a preliminary for entrance.

Independence for the Philippines

Resolved, That the United States should grant the Philippine Islands their independence.

International Disarmament

Resolved, That the nations of the world should reduce their armaments to the minimum necessary for police duty.

Immigration

Resolved, That our immigration laws should debar all immigrants over sixteen years of age who are unable to read and write: *Provided,* that the law shall not apply to dependents upon qualified immigrants or residents of the United States.

Resolved, That it would be beneficial to North Carolina to establish an agency for securing an increased immigrant population in the State.

Labor Unions

Resolved, That labor unions are beneficial to society in the United States.

League to Enforce Peace

Resolved, That the United States should join an International League to Enforce Peace at the close of the World War.

Military Training

Resolved, That military training should be required of all male students in American colleges.

Resolved, That every male American citizen should be required to take military training for one year.

Minimum Wage

Resolved, That minimum wage legislation for women and children should be enacted in North Carolina.

Monroe Doctrine

Resolved, That the Monroe Doctrine should be continued as a part of the permanent policy of the United States.

Municipal Ownership

Resolved, That for American cities municipal ownership of public service corporations, which furnish water, light, and transportation, is preferable to private ownership.

Old Age Pensions

Resolved, That the United States should grant old age pensions.

Panama Canal

Resolved, That the United States should exempt its coastwise traffic from canal tolls.

Resolved, That the Panama Canal should be fortified by the United States.

Presidential Election

Resolved, That the President of the United States should be elected for a term of six years and be ineligible for reëlection.

Private Laws

Resolved, That the Constitution of North Carolina should be so amended as to prohibit the Legislature from considering purely private and local bills.

Prohibition

Resolved, That the United States should provide for national prohibition by constitutional amendment.

Public Libraries

Resolved, That the town of ....., having more than 1,000 inhabitants, should establish a tax-supported library.

Resolved, That every town in North Carolina having 1,000 inhabitants should establish a tax-supported library.

Railroads

Resolved, That the Federal Government should buy and operate the railroads in the United States.

Resolved, That all railroads doing an interstate business should be required to incorporate under a Federal charter.

Reciprocity

Resolved, That the United States should effect a reciprocal trade treaty with Canada.

Ship Subsidies

Resolved, That the United States should extend its system of ship subsidies.

Telegraph

Resolved, That the Federal Government should buy and operate the telegraph lines of the country.

Trusts and Corporations

Resolved, That all corporations doing an interstate business should be required to have a Federal incorporation.

Veto Power

Resolved, That the Governor of North Carolina should be given veto power.

Handbooks, Loaning Agencies, and Periodicals

HANDBOOKS

In the conduct of debating society work the following books will prove of very great assistance. If any funds are available, as many should be secured as possible.

Abridged Debater's Handbook Series. H. W. Wilson Company, New York City. 25 cents each, unless marked otherwise. A series of pamphlets, each of which contains affirmative and negative briefs, references, etc., on the following subjects: Athletics, 35c.; Fortification of Panama Canal; Government Ownership of Telegraph; Independence for the Philippines; Minimum Wage; National Defense; Nonresistance, 35c.; Panama Canal Tolls; Ship Subsidies; Six-year Presidential Term.

Bliss, W. D. P., and Binder, Rudolph, Editors. New Encyclopedia of Social Reform. N. Y., Funk & Wagnalls, 1908. $7.50. This volume of 1,325 pages discusses practically every subject presented for discussion in this handbook. It states the positions held by the leaders favoring and opposing the measures, and gives the histories of the measures. It frequently refers to books and periodicals which treat the subjects authoritatively. It is an exceedingly valuable book to have in the school library.

Debater's Handbook Series. H. W. Wilson Company, New York City. $1.25 each. Each volume is devoted to one query, which is clearly stated and, in the later volumes, fully briefed. Extended general references and specific references for the affirmative and negative are indicated, and more than two hundred pages of material on the subjects drawn from authoritative sources are given pro and con. The series contains at present the following subjects: American Merchant Marine, Capital Punishment, Central Bank, Child Labor, Commission Plan of Municipal Government, Compulsory Insurance, Conservation of Natural Resources, Debaters' Manual, Direct Primaries, Election of United States Senators, Employment of Women, Federal Control of Interstate Corporations, Free Trade and Protection, Government Ownership of Railroads, Government Ownership of Telegraph and Telephone, Immigration, Income Tax, Initiative and Referendum, Military Training, Minimum Wage, Monroe Doctrine, Mothers' Pensions, Municipal Ownership, National Defense, National Defense (Vol. 2), Open vs. Closed Shop, Parcels Post, Prohibition, Recall (Including Judges and Decisions), Reciprocity, Single Tax, Trades Unions, Unemployment, Woman Suffrage, World Peace, City Manager Plan, Compulsory Arbitration of Industrial Disputes.

Debater's Manual. H. W. Wilson Company, New York City. $1.25. All the steps in the preparation of a debate, selecting the question, finding and arranging the arguments and evidence, making the brief, delivery, etc., are described clearly and concisely. The book tells how to organize and contains model constitutions, rules of order, etc. There is also a list of books on public speaking and debate, and a subject index to a large number of published briefs, bibliographies, reports of debates, and collections of selected arguments on live and debatable questions.

Foster, W. T. Argumentation and Debating. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, Mass., 1908. $1.25. One of the most satisfactory books in this field. A copious appendix gives specimens of analysis, briefs, materials for briefing, a forensic and complete specimen debate, a model for instruction to judges and for the formation of a debating league.

Pearson, P. M., and others. Intercollegiate Debates. 5 vols. Hinds, Noble & Eldredge, New York City, 1909-1915. $1.50 each. The five volumes contain the abstracts of speeches or complete speeches delivered by debaters participating in a number of the principal intercollegiate debates held in the United States from 1908-1915. A new volume is issued annually.

Ringwalt, R. C. Briefs on Public Questions. Longmans, Green & Co., New York City, 1905. $1.20. Contains, in the form of briefs pro and con, the principal arguments on twenty-five of the important topics of the day, together with references to books and periodicals for the affirmative and negative, given separately.

Robbins, E. C. High School Debate Book. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, Ill., 1911. $1.00. Contains valuable suggestions concerning the preparation of debates; gives briefs, together with general references and specific references, for affirmative and negative, for eighteen live queries; and outlines a model constitution for debating societies. It also gives a list of subjects on which the Library of Congress has prepared bibliographies.

Roberts, H. M. Rules of Order. Scott, Foresman & Co., Chicago, Ill. 75 cents. This book is the standard manual of parliamentary practice usually followed in debating societies.

Schurter (Ed.). Hinds, Noble & Eldredge, New York City. $1.25. Both sides of One Hundred Public Questions Briefly Debated. Both affirmative and negative arguments with complete references are given.

University Debaters' Annuals. Vols. 1 and 2. $1.80 each. Each subject also sold separately in paper cover at prices mentioned below. Here are the affirmative and negative speeches actually delivered in the intercollegiate debates of the leading American universities. Subjects debated are: Vol. 1—Increase of Army and Navy, 75c; Monroe Doc-

trine, 50c; Minimum Wage, 50c; Government Ownership of Telegraph and Telephone, 30c; Socialism, 30c; and Single Tax, 30c. A bibliography is included in each. Vol. 2—International Police, Preparedness, Compulsory Industrial Insurance. A brief and bibliography are included. Each subject sold in paper cover at 75 cents.

World Almanac and Encyclopedia. Published by the *New York World,* New York City, at the beginning of every year. Paper, 25c. No single volume can be secured at so little cost which contains so much valuable information for use in debating society work.

LOANS FROM THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY AND THE NORTH CAROLINA LIBRARY COMMISSION

The Library of the University is prepared, as in previous years, to furnish reference material on all subjects included in the Abridged Debaters' Handbook Series, Debaters' Handbook Series, Intercollegiate Debates, Briefs on Public Questions, High School Debate Book, University Debaters' Manual, and on many others not included in them, but which can be found in the general library.

The North Carolina Library Commission, Raleigh, N. C., a State office established to promote library development and public discussion, has for several years operated a system of complete debate package libraries. It offers them on the following subjects:

Agriculture vs. Professions, Arbitration—Industrial, Armor Plate, Athletics, Cabinet Ministers, Capital Punishment, Corporal Punishment, Child Labor, Coeducation, College Fraternities, Commission Government, Compulsory Education, Conservation of Natural Resources, Convict Labor, Direct Primaries, Eight-Hour Day, European War, Employer's Liability, Examinations, Federal Control of Corporations, Federal Farm Loan Act, Gary School Plan, Government Ownership—Railroads, Government Ownership—Telegraph, Telephones, Greece and Rome, Immigration, Income Tax, Inheritance Tax, Initiative and Referendum, Injunctions, Ireland, Merchant Marine, Mexico—Annexation, Mexico—Intervention of the United States, Military Training, Minimum Wage, Mothers' Pensions, Monroe Doctrine, Moving Pictures, Munitions of War, Municipal Ownership, Navy (United States)—Increase, Napoleon, Old Age Pensions, Open and Closed Shop, Panama Canal—Fortification, Panama Canal—Tolls, Parcel Post, Penny Postage, Philippine Islands, President—Term of Office, Prohibition, Preparedness, Recall, Roads, Rural Credits, Ship Subsidies, Short Ballot, Single Tax, Socialism, Spelling Reform, Sugar, Suffrage—Property Qualifications, Suffrage—Educational Qualifications, Student Government, Tariff, Trade Unions, Unemployment, Universal Military Service, Vivisection, War, Woman Suffrage, Women—Employment, World Peace.

Both the University Library and Library Commission make these loans for brief periods, the only expense to the borrower being that of express or postage charges each way. Applications for material should be sent through the principal of the school, and the material should be so distributed among the members of the society as to give all an opportunity to use it.

Still further information can frequently be secured from State and national officers. In the case of the discussion of State problems, such as taxation, public health, education, etc., the State department interested in those questions can be drawn upon with good results. In the case of the discussion of national problems, such as prohibition, the regulation of immigration, commerce, etc., material may also be secured by requests sent to North Carolina Congressmen and Senators at Washington, D. C. In both cases the material can usually be had for the asking and is extremely valuable.

PERIODICALS AND INDEXES

A file of the best magazines and newspapers is most desirable, and a school or society which is constantly debating public questions should have access to the current numbers of several which make a specialty of current events and governmental problems. Among the State weeklies are to be mentioned the *State Journal* ($2.00) and the *Progressive Farmer* ($1.00), both of Raleigh. Valuable weeklies published outside the State are *The Outlook* ($4.00), *The Survey* ($3.00), *The Literary Digest* ($3.00), and *The Independent* ($4.00), all of New York. Among the monthly magazines which give summaries and long articles are *The World's Work* ($3.00), *The Review of Reviews* ($3.00), *The North American Review* ($4.00), *The Forum* ($2.50), of New York, and *The Annals of the American Academy* ($5.00), of Philadelphia. The last is almost prohibitory in price, except for large libraries.

Friday Afternoon and Holiday Exercises

A feature of the school work of much potential value which is not fully appreciated is the occasion of gathering the whole school together for more or less general participation in public exercises of various sorts. Friday afternoons, holidays, and half-holidays can be profitably utilized for such purposes. They should afford a chance for pupils to try themselves out in orations, declamations, and discussions or debate. They should afford opportunities for various sorts of expression. They produce the "audience situation" which is essential to the best types of expression.

1. In expression it is necessary that one have something to say and some one, or some audience, to say it to.

2. In the second place, these exercises should entertain. Friday afternoon should be a time when all pupils gather for a social hour. Not only may it be enjoyable to the pupils, but it may afford a pleasant diversion for the parents. Music should be allowed a liberal amount of time in the program. It makes a strong appeal to almost every one. Nothing else, perhaps, can so quickly fire a crowd to enthusiasm and unite them in feeling as can unison singing.

3. Another feature which might well form a part of the program is some discussion of current events. A start has been made in a number of schools, but too often it is no more than an exercise in reading. Instead of simply having some pupil read from a paper, the pupils might better be asked to look out for important points of interest, and to be ready to talk about them. They should be reporters and interpreters. This part of the program has great possibilities for the teacher well informed and tactful. When well executed it is as thoroughly educative as it is interesting.

Keeping in mind these various possibilities of the Friday afternoon exercises the following general outline is suggested as a tentative plan on which to build programs:

1. Some familiar song in which the whole school can join, for instance, the *Old North State*, or some of the old melodies, such as *My Old Kentucky Home*, *The Suwanee River*, or *Old Black Joe*.

2. Two or more declamations.

3. Special music by high school quartet or glee club.

4. Discussion of current events. This will be greatly aided by some little school paper, such as *Current Events* or *The Pathfinder*, to which all of the pupils subscribe. The price of such a paper per pupil for a whole school is not too large for the poorest pupil.

5. Music by the school band if the school has one, or by any pupils who can perform on musical instruments.

6. Gymnastic performances and folk dancing, where a suitable hall is available.

Sometimes it would be well to devote an afternoon entirely to reviewing the life and works of some one man. Such exercises are more or less common in the case of military leaders and statesmen, such as Washington, Lincoln, Lee, and Jackson. In 1916 schools of every grade over the entire country held some kind of exercise in honor of the memory of Shakespeare. This custom might well be extended to include many other great producers in the fields of art and literature.

Besides the temporary enjoyment to be derived from such an occasion, it has great educational possibilities. Pupils can be given sometimes a new conception of literature as something to be enjoyed, quite aside from school requirements. A good public reading of Poe's *Raven* may lead some pupils to explore further on their own initiative.

SUGGESTED PROGRAMS

AN EVENING WITH POE

Preparation.—The classes should have read Poe's more important poems, and some of his short stories. A student should memorize *The Raven,* if possible a boy who has a deep voice and who is able to bring out the rhythm of the verse. Another student should memorize *Annabel Lee.* The room should be adorned with October leaves. A picture of the author might be had and hung in front of the room.

The Day Itself.—The teacher or a student presents a sympathetic review of the life of the author. A modern love-song should be read. Take any song that is sung by the students to a popular tune. Let the student, preferably a girl who is musical, read *Annabel Lee.* Read the climax in the *Fall of the House of Usher.*

After Work.—Compare any Conan Doyle story with the *Gold Bug.* Let the boys and girls write a detective story themselves. Let one of the students attempt a poem.

Similarly interesting programs might be developed around the life and works of North Carolina's prominent men in the field of literature. John Henry Boner and John Charles McNeil would be especially interesting authors for such treatment, as copies of their poems can be easily obtained.

COMMUNITY STUDIES

From the point of view of both the interest of the pupils and of making available, and showing the significance of, some very valuable information, schools may well afford to take the time occasionally for coöperative study and discussion of community resources, opportunities, and needs. The following questions serve as guides to what might be

called social and educational surveys. Similar studies concerning churches, roads, marketing facilities, manufacturing, stores, etc., might be planned along the same lines.

THE PEOPLE

What is the population of the district? Is the population increasing or decreasing? How many families have moved out of the district in the last five years? Find out, if possible, why they moved. Where did they go? How many boys and young unmarried men have left the district in the last five years? Find out, if possible, why they left. Where did they go?

How many residents of the district desire to sell their property? Find out, if possible, why they want to sell.

How many men and women in the district are high school graduates? How many are college graduates? How many young people from the district are now in college?

What per cent of the inhabitants of the district are farmers? What per cent of the farmers own their farms?

How many farmers in the district take farm papers, newspapers, and magazines? How many use the bulletins of the Department of Agriculture and the State Agricultural College? How many farmers in the district have attended one or more short courses at the State Agricultural College?

Are farmers' institutes held each year in the district? How well are they attended?

How many farmers in the district use up-to-date farm machinery and appliances? How many employ up-to-date methods in farming?

Is there a general tendency on the part of the residents of the district to improve their homes and make them more attractive and homelike? If many of the homes are neglected as to their appearance and comfort, what is likely to be the effect on the district?

What opportunities are there for social life among the young people of the community? Are these helpful in their character? How might opportunities for wholesome social life in the district be improved?

Improving School Grounds

School children can easily be interested in the improvement and beautifying of the school grounds. Not only does this interest carry over into their school work in a helpful way, but it may be utilized to accomplish very important material improvements. Whether or not a special day is set aside as arbor day, as is the custom in many schools, an hour or two, occasionally on Friday afternoons, could be profitably

devoted to discussions and plans for coöperative work on the school grounds by the school pupils.

Planting on School Grounds

Again, many of our schoolhouses are in bare, open lots, without shade trees or with no ornamental trees or shrubs on the grounds. Others are in the woods, differing only from the surrounding forest in the absence of some of the larger and more handsome trees which have been cut for firewood.

All such grounds can be greatly improved, and now is the time to start. Do not try to do it all in one day, but make a beginning, and begin right. Have a definite plan to work up to and have some one person in charge. Then everybody can help.

The drives and paths of the school grounds should be a miniature model of a "good roads" system. Let them be laid out and made in the same way and with the same care as are our improved highways.

ARBOR DAY PROGRAM

Devotional Exercises, by Principal or Minister.

Responsive Scripture reading, Psalm 104, vv. 1-17.

Song.

Reading: What and Where to Plant Around North Carolina Schoolhouses.

Address: By Principal or invited guest.

Exhibition of Collection of Flowers, Leaves, and Fruit. (Prize Competition.)

Saluting the Flag—in school grounds.

Planting one or more trees in the grounds.

TOPICS FOR ESSAYS

Autobiography of a Tree; How the Forest Saves the Soil; Why Pines Come up in the Old Fields and Why Oaks Follow Pines When the Pines Are Cut; Trees I Know and How I Know Them; How to Plant a Tree; How to Prune a Tree; Beautifying the School, Home, and Church Grounds; Planting Trees along Roads and Streets; How the Forest Supplements Farming in the Use of Poor or Rough Land; Industries Dependent Upon Forests; Uses of Timber and Wood; How the Forests Influence the Flow of Streams and Rivers; Seeds and Flowers of Different Trees; How the Stem of a Tree Grows and Becomes Smooth and Straight; How Forest Fires Injure Trees.

SUBJECTS FOR DEBATE

Will It Pay to Plant Trees in Old Fields? Does the "No-Fence Law" Add to the Prosperity of the District Using It? Does Burning Forest Land for Grazing Pay Better Than Letting the Trees Grow?

The 1916 Arbor Day Bulletin of the North Carolina State Normal and Industrial College contains a great many selections and suggestions which would be helpful in planning Arbor Day programs. Also the Arbor Day Bulletin for 1917 issued by the State Department of Education.

LITERARY SOCIETY PROGRAMS

Below is shown one of the weekly programs of the four literary societies of one of the larger high schools of the State. These are copied from the daily paper of the city in which the high school is located. They show the extent and variety of opportunity for expression and for affording entertainment, which such exercises may offer.

Music and recitations are the features of the programs of the girls' societies, while debates and discussions play a very important part in the work of the boys' societies. It would be well for the girls' societies and the boys' societies, where they are organized separately, to combine occasionally their efforts and give joint public or semi-public entertainments.

BOYS' SOCIETY PROGRAMS

Diaphesian

1. The earthquake of Italy.
2. The history of basket-ball.
3. Prospects for a high school track team.
4. Debate: *Resolved,* That the citizens of the United States should adopt the municipal form of government.
5. Reports of the treasurer and chairman of the decoration committee.
6. Criticism of the debate.

Philomelian

1. The Submarine and its development.
2. Parliamentary Law.
3. Debate: *Resolved,* That Government ownership of railroads is more beneficial than private ownership.

GIRLS' SOCIETY PROGRAMS

McNeil

1. Recitation
2. Recitation
3. Dialogue
4. Recitation
5. Reading
6. Dialogue
7. Recitation
8. Recitation

Ionian

1. Piano Solo
2. Recitation
3. Recitation
4. Piano Solo
5. Play
6. Piano Solo
7. Piano Solo
8. Reading
9. Recitation
10. Reading

Constitution and By-Laws for High School Literary Societies

I

SUGGESTIONS FOR ORGANIZING

First Meeting

The object of the first meeting is to begin arrangements for the organization of the society. A temporary chairman and a temporary secretary are elected. The chairman states his views of the matter and calls upon those present to express their opinions in regard to forming a society. A motion is then in order to organize the..... Literary Society of.....School. Following the passing of this, another motion is in order to the effect that the chairman appoint a committee to draw up a Constitution and By-Laws, this committee to report at the next meeting. Upon the passing of this motion, a general discussion in regard to the Constitution and By-Laws may take place, this to be followed by adjournment.

Second Meeting

The chairman at this time calls for the report of the committee on Constitution and By-Laws. After the reading of this report, it is well to consider each section of the proposed constitution in order. After discussion, each section may be adopted, or may be altered or amended as the society desires, and then adopted.

When the Constitution and By-Laws have been adopted, the chairman calls for the election of officers. A President is elected first and he takes the place of the chairman. The society then elects the other officers as provided for by the constitution. The President appoints the standing committees and the meeting adjourns.

Third Meeting

At the third meeting the officers are sworn in. The President delivers his address. At this juncture it is well to have an address by a teacher, or a visitor, if such can be provided for. The meeting is thrown open for general discussion by the members. The Program Committee makes its first report at this meeting, so that at the fourth meeting the regular program of the society may be carried out.

II

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

The Constitution and By-Laws given here are suggested in the hope that they may serve as a model for high school literary societies. They may be modified and amended, shortened or lengthened, as the society sees fit. They are modeled somewhat after the constitutions and by-laws of the Dialectic and Philanthropic Literary Societies of the University of North Carolina.

Constitution of the.....Literary Society

PREAMBLE

Recognizing the permanent good that comes from individual self-expression and organized self-control we hereby form ourselves into a literary society, subject to the following constitution and by-laws.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I

NAME AND MOTTO

Section 1. The name of this society shall be—"The..... Literary Society of....., North Carolina." The motto shall be "....."

ARTICLE II

MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Any student and any teacher in.....High School may become by election an active member of this society, as provided for in Article II, Section 1, of the By-Laws.

Section 2. Any person may become by election an honorary member of this society by vote of three-fourths of the members present. He shall be entitled to all the privileges of an active member except voting and holding office.

ARTICLE III

GOVERNMENT

Section 1. The government of this society shall be vested in a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Censor, a Critic, a Reporter, a Membership Committee, a Program Committee, and a Committee on the Constitution. In all cases of final appeal a vote of two-thirds of the members present shall control.

ARTICLE IV

MEETINGS—REGULAR

SECTION 1. Regular meetings shall be held on.....of .....week at.....o'clock.

MEETINGS—SPECIAL

SECTION 2. A special meeting may be called by the President. It shall be the duty of the President to see that the Secretary informs the members of such a meeting.

ARTICLE V

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The first President every year shall appoint a committee of three, whose duty it shall be to secure, investigate, and report on all proposals for membership. This committee shall hold office throughout the school year.

ARTICLE VI

PROGRAM COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. At the first meeting of his term, each President shall appoint two persons who, together with himself, shall act as the Program Committee. It shall be the duty of this committee to formulate the programs, including the selection of questions for debate, and report the same to the society, and post them in some conspicuous place, at least two weeks before the date for the holding of each program. At this time they shall also read the names of those members whom they have placed on duty. This committee shall have full power to place active members on the program as it may see fit. The society may at any time, by a majority vote, modify or change completely any program in the meeting at which it is reported. The Program Committee shall hold office until one week after the regular election of officers.

ARTICLE VII

COMMITTEE ON THE CONSTITUTION

SECTION 1. The Committee on the Constitution shall consist of three members. They shall be appointed by the first President at the beginning of each school year, and shall serve throughout the entire school year. In the event, however, that a member of this committee should be elected President the president shall then resign from his membership on the committee, and another shall be appointed in his place.

SECTION 2. Any amendment to the Constitution or By-Laws shall be

referred to this committee. Said amendment shall lie over one week before final action is taken by the committee. In case of favorable action taken by the committee it shall be presented by the committee to the society and shall lie over one week before final action is taken by the society. In case of unfavorable action by the committee, the amendment may be brought before the society by its author, or any member of the society, in which case it shall lie over two weeks before final action is taken upon it.

Section 3. This committee shall consider the communication of any member who thinks he has been unjustly fined, and shall have power to abrogate these fines, provided the excuse be deemed sufficient. The action of this committee shall be final, unless its decision be reversed by special action of the society. A vote of two-thirds of the members present shall be necessary to reverse the decision of the committee.

ARTICLE VIII

AMENDMENT

Section 1. This constitution may be amended at a regular meeting by the vote of two-thirds of the members present; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment be read at the two regular meetings that immediately precede.

Section 2. This constitution may be suspended at any meeting by a vote of four-fifths of the members present; provided, that this suspension shall apply to this particular meeting alone.

III

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I

ORDER OF EXERCISES

Section 1. The regular exercises of the society shall be conducted in the following order:

1. The roll call.
2. Reading, correction, and approval of the minutes of the last meeting.
3. Installation of officers.
4. Election of members.
5. Initiation of members.
6. Appointment of committee to decide the debate.

7. Order of exercises for the evening.
8. General debate.
9. Report of Critic.
10. Decision of the committee to decide the debate.
11. Report of committees.
    a. Announcement by the program committee of the next two programs.
    b. Report of committee on the constitution.
    c. Reports of special committees.
    d. Report of treasurer.
12. Election of officers.
13. Unfinished business.
14. New business.
15. Adjournment.

SECTION 2. In the regular debates of the society, the order and length of the speeches shall be as follows:

First affirmative, not less than four nor more than ten minutes.
First negative, not less than four nor more than ten minutes.
Second affirmative, not less than four nor more than ten minutes.
Second negative, not less than four nor more than ten minutes.
First affirmative, in rebuttal, not more than five minutes.
First negative, in rebuttal, not more than five minutes.
Second affirmative, in rebuttal, not more than five minutes.
Second negative, in rebuttal, not more than five minutes.

SECTION 3. Every debate shall be decided by a committee of three persons chosen by the President from the members or visitors present. No officer while on duty shall be required to serve on this committee.

SECTION 4. This society shall be governed by "Robert's Rules of Order" as parliamentary guide in all cases where it does not conflict with the Constitution or By-Laws.

ARTICLE II

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

SECTION 1. Every candidate shall make application for membership in writing. This application shall be reported to the society by the Membership Committee. The vote shall be by ballot, and three-fourths of the members present must vote for the candidate in order for him to be elected to membership.

INITIATION OF MEMBERS

SECTION 2. The ceremony of initiating an active member shall be as follows: The President and members of the society shall stand;

the chairman of the Membership Committee shall conduct the candidate to the desk of the President; the President shall then ask him if he has read the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society; if he answers affirmatively, the President shall then put to him this question: "Do you pledge your honor that you will support the Constitution and By-Laws of the.....Literary Society, and to the best of your ability promote the welfare of the organization?" Upon receiving an affirmative reply, the President shall direct him to sign at once the roll of membership; and shall then say, "I hereby declare you to be an active member of this society."

EXPULSION FROM MEMBERSHIP

Section 3. On a written motion stating the charge, a member may be expelled from the society for any of these offenses: gross misconduct, persistent failure to perform duty, continued absence from the meetings of the society, deliberate failure to pay dues or fines.

ARTICLE III

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Section 1. Officers of this society shall be elected by ballot, a majority of the votes cast electing. They shall be elected every eight weeks. No person shall be eligible to the same office for two successive terms.

TIME OF INSTALLATION

Section 2. The installation of an officer must take place at the second meeting after election; otherwise his office is vacant and must be filled immediately by the election and installation of a new officer. Offices vacant from any other cause must also be filled in like manner.

CEREMONY OF INSTALLATION

Section 3. The ceremony of installing officers shall be as follows: The Acting President and the members shall stand; the Acting President shall say, "The President elect will please come forward." He will then put to him the question: "Do you solemnly affirm that you will faithfully execute the duties of (here naming the office), and that you will protect and defend the Constitution of the..... Literary Society?" Upon answering affirmatively, the President shall then take the chair and in similar form install in turn the other officers.

DUTY OF THE PRESIDENT

SECTION 4. The duty of the President shall be to preside at all meetings of the society; enforce a due observance of the Constitution, By-Laws, and Rules of Order; inflict all fines that are imposed on members of the society; and perform all the duties required of him by the Constitution and By-Laws.

DUTY OF THE VICE-PRESIDENT

SECTION 5. The duty of the Vice-President shall be to perform all the duties of the President in the absence of that officer from society.

DUTY OF THE SECRETARY

SECTION 6. The duty of the Secretary shall be to keep a record of the attendance and of the acts of the society, and to perform any services required of him by the Constitution, By-Laws, and Rules of Order.

DUTY OF THE TREASURER

SECTION 7. The duty of the Treasurer shall be to collect all money due the society, to pay its debts that have been approved by the President, and secure receipts for their payment, and at the close of his term of office to deliver all property in his possession belonging to the society to his successor. He shall make a report at each meeting of the society in which he shall state the amount of money which he has on hand as treasurer, the members of the society who owe dues, assessments, or fines, the amount that each one owes, and when fines will begin to accumulate for the nonpayment of these amounts.

DUTY OF THE CENSOR

SECTION 8. It shall be the duty of the Censor to note down the names, together with the offenses, of all persons guilty of improper or disorderly behavior in the society, to report same to the society, and to the President, who shall inflict proper fines, and to give a list of the same to the Treasurer for collection. But if there is no misconduct, he shall report that "The society has been in good order."

DUTY OF THE CRITIC

SECTION 9. (1) The duty of the Critic shall be to present a just criticism at each meeting of the debate in general and the work of each member who takes part in the program.

SECTION 9. (2) It shall also be the duty of the Critic to audit the

books of the Treasurer at the close of each term of the Treasurer's office and make a report to the society.

DUTY OF THE REPORTER

Section 10. The duty of the Reporter shall be to supply for publication in the local newspaper an account of each regular meeting, announcements of programs, and other items of interest pertaining to the society.

IMPEACHMENT

Section 11. If any officer is guilty of neglect of duty or of misconduct in office, he may be arraigned upon a written accusation of any three members, at a regular meeting of the society, provided that a week's notice has been given and the accused has had the privilege of choosing a member as his counsel for defense. He shall be convicted only with the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present. If convicted, he shall be subject to a reprimand from the presiding officer, fine, suspension, or expulsion, as the society may resolve.

ARTICLE IV

DUES

Section 1. The regular dues of this society shall be ....., and shall be payable not later than.....

ASSESSMENTS

Section 2. An equal assessment on all active members may be imposed at any regular meeting by vote of a majority of the members of the society, this to be paid not later than some definite time, to be decided by the society.

INITIATION FEES

Section 3. The regular initiation fees of this society shall be..... .....and shall be payable not later than..... weeks after initiation.

FINES

Section 4. Any member absenting himself from the regular or special meetings of society without a valid excuse, such as sickness for instance, shall be fined....., this to be paid within four weeks after it has been imposed.

Section 5. Any member failing to perform duty when put on the program by the committee, without a valid excuse, such as sickness,

shall be fined ....., this to be paid within four weeks after it has been imposed.

SECTION 6. Any member guilty of misconduct, or of disrespect to the Chair, shall be fined by the President a sum not less than ten cents nor exceeding one dollar, this to be paid within four weeks from the time that it was imposed.

SECTION 7. Any member failing to pay his fines, assessments, initiation fees, or dues, within the limits prescribed in this Article shall be fined.....per week until he pays up in full.

SECTION 8. Any member of a committee failing to perform his duty as laid down in the Constitution and By-Laws, or Rules of Order, shall be fined....., this to be paid within four weeks after it has been imposed.

ARTICLE V

AMENDMENT

SECTION 1. Any part of these By-Laws may be amended at a regular meeting by the vote of two-thirds of the members present; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment be read at the two regular meetings that immediately precede.

SECTION 2. These By-Laws may be suspended at any meeting by a vote of four-fifths of the members present; provided, that this suspension shall apply to this particular meeting alone.